

and for the Middle Eastern peace process. The time is right for Israel's leaders to take a fresh look at how best to secure their northern border.

Israeli forces have been on Lebanese territory since March 1978, when they consolidated a security zone nominally administered by a Christian Lebanese officer. The purpose of the zone was twofold: to place Israeli territory beyond the reach of Palestinian gunners, and to place on the table a strong Israeli card in the high-stakes game of determining Lebanon's political future.

In June 1982 Israel moved decisively to destroy the Palestinian military presence in southern Lebanon and rearrange the Lebanese political scene to its advantage. The first objective was achieved as Palestinian forces were driven back to Beirut and eventually evacuated from Lebanon. The second was frustrated by Lebanese political disunity and skillful Syrian subversion. By 1984 Israeli forces were essentially back within the security zone, with a new and more potent opponent—one enjoying the support of Iran and Syria.

In a 1984 study of security and water disputes in the Galilean region, I noted that "In the long run, unless Israel is willing to assume complete responsibility for the economic and political aspirations of the volatile Lebanese Shi'a community in the south, there will be no peace for Galilee without a real government for Lebanon." Lebanon is still—in the south—without a real government, and over the past decade Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon has acted as a magnet for Syrian-supported Hizbullah attacks on Israeli forces, Israel's surrogates, and Israel itself.

It may well be that 25 years of cross-border violence has rendered a "solution" to the current impasse impossible. There may be no one in Israel still interested in embracing the Lebanese "tar baby," but how to let it go is the issue. Is there a way Israel might extricate itself from Lebanon and, at the same time, enhance the security of its citizens? Must such an extrication await a formal peace treaty with Lebanon, or might its unilateral implementation help break the logjam blocking the Israel-Syria-Lebanon track?

One hypothesis worth testing is that neither Hizbullah nor Syria will have any compelling reason to attack Israeli territory from Lebanon if the occupation ends and Israeli forces withdraw to Israel's side of the international boundary. The fighters of Hizbulla claim to be motivated by a desire to end Israel's occupation. A unilateral Israeli withdrawal might suit them fine. Having "Liberated" southern Lebanon, would it make sense for them to press the attack into Israel proper?

It can be argued, no doubt convincingly, that no Israeli government could permit Hizbullah to claim "victory" in this manner and that nothing could "guarantee" in this manner and that nothing could "guarantee" the security of Israel's northern towns. A corollary to this argument is that neither Hizbullah nor Syria is to be "trusted," and a unilateral withdrawal would convey to Israel's enemies a sense of "weakness" sure to be exploited.

If, however, it is just possible that Israel's security would be enhanced as a result of evacuation, it is worth asking anew whether the cost of trying it would be prohibitive. In view of the fact that Israel makes no claim on Lebanese territory, is there any issue except the security of Israeli citizens worth considering in a withdrawal scenario? How might the government of Israel proceed in a manner defensible both in terms of internal Israeli politics and the safety of Israeli citizens?

The government of Israel could consider declaring unilaterally its intention to withdraw all of its forces from Lebanese territory within 90 days. It could request that the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) convene, as soon as possible, a meeting of Israeli and Lebanese military officers to work out the details of a professional handover. Israel could make it clear at the outset that its forces will be gone in 90 days and that no amount of stalling, hand wringing, or haggling would alter the timetable.

Coupled with this declaration should be another statement designed to fix, once and for all, the responsibility of Israel's neighbors to respect the inviolability of Israel's borders. Israel could declare that it will hold the governments of Lebanon and Syria fully responsible for ensuring that no party in Lebanon, to include all of Syria's Palestinian and Lebanese surrogates, violates Israeli sovereignty in any way. Israel could make it especially clear that it will make no return of territory to Syria unless the border with Lebanon becomes as quiet as the cease-fire line on the Golan Heights. Indeed, the willingness of Syria and its Lebanese proxies to act responsibly in Southern Lebanon before, during, and after the evacuation of Israeli forces will instruct the Israeli people as to the advisability of a territorial settlement with Syria.

In the manner the liability presented by southern Lebanon can be converted to an asset in the hands of those sincerely interested in a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace settlement. Should new attacks on Israeli territory be mounted from Lebanon, direct retaliation by Israeli forces on those responsible for maintaining law and order in Lebanon would be warranted. Instead of creating massive flows or embittered refugees, Israel would be striking at the actual malefactors. Who, under such circumstances, could blame Israel?

Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon helps perpetuate an ambiguity that does not exist on the Golan Heights, arguably the most peaceful spot on earth for over 20 years. Syria has exploited this ambiguity to strike indirectly at Israel by encouraging fighters who claim to be waging a war of national liberation. Israel alone can remove this ambiguity by withdrawing and forcing its neighbors to accept full responsibility for their actions. Such an action could hardly be characterized as a defeat.

LILLIAN HOFFMAN'S LETTER TO RAOUL WALLENBERG—A HERO TO FOUR GENERATIONS

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1995

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, today, on the occasion of the dedication of the bust of Raoul Wallenberg in the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol, two tributes stood out as singularly accurate reflections upon the extraordinary acts of this Swedish-American hero.

The first, a letter to Raoul Wallenberg by my granddaughter, Chelsea Lantos-Swett, read at the dedication of the Holocaust Memorial Museum and again at today's ceremony has already appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The second, which I ask be placed in today's RECORD, is a letter to Wallenberg from Ms. Lillian Hoffman, who donated the bust which we unveiled today in the Capitol Rotunda.

These two letters, which span four generations, are testimony to the endurance of Raoul Wallenberg's legacy and lessons. He was an inspiration to Lillian Hoffman, of the World War II generation, and, four generations later, he is an inspiration to Chelsea. I am confident that, four generations from now, our great-grandchildren will look upon Raoul Wallenberg's image in the U.S. Capitol, and reflect upon the strength of the individual human spirit and the ability of each and every one of us to make the world a better place.

Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to take a moment to read Lillian Hoffman's letter and to pause by the bust of Raoul Wallenberg:

AN OPEN LETTER TO OUR DEAR FRIEND,
RAOUL WALLENBERG
(By Lillian Hoffman)

Dear Raoul:

No, you are not "the forgotten hero." Wherever you are, we are gathered here to celebrate your unique historic valor. We know that somewhere you are out there and very much aware of the great love and indebtedness we Americans feel for you.

It is with considerable humility and emotion that we write to you to express our gratitude and admiration for your remarkable feat. The brilliant imagination, daring and compassion that you exerted to rescue over 100,000 Jewish souls was breathtaking and monumental. In the heart of every Jew there is a special memory of this accomplishment.

You have long deserved this special commemoration for your contribution to all freedom-loving people everywhere.

Here we stand under the historic roof of the Congress of these United States amidst our nation's leaders and friends. The echoes of the heartbeats of American heroes, whose busts are encircling us, remind us of what an exceptional privilege it is to place your bust among these heroes.

My children and I are filled with immense pride to donate Mirri Margolin's bust of you to the U.S. Congress. Finally, you are being recognized and lauded for your great spirit and exceptional courage. Only in the United States could descendants of immigrants join with our nation's leaders to herald the life of a leader like you.

Thank you, Raoul; thank you for showing the world what one determined individual can achieve in a daring battle against the forces of evil; thank you for restoring to so many of us our faith in mankind—the faith which is the first prerequisite, the strongest stimulant, and the greatest asset for all who seek to build a better world.

With great admiration,

LILLIAN HOFFMAN,
Denver, CO.

TRIBUTE TO NATALIE HELENE JACOBS CAVE

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 2, 1995

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Natalie Helen Jacobs retired after 50 years of exemplary Federal service to America's veterans on September 30, 1995. This daughter of a Baptist minister—Rev. Frank Walter Jacobs—and a school teacher—Mrs. Natalie Taylor Jacobs—was born in Norfolk, VA. She received her early education at the Alabama State Teachers College Laboratory in the public schools of Bridgeport, CT. In 1943 Natalie received her degree, with honors from Bennett